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Noes.

1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks.
2. ,, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.
3. ,, Mr. T. E. Moir.
4. ,, Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar.
5. ,, Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar.
6. ,, Dr. P. Subbarayan.
7. Mr. C. B. Cotterell.
8. ,, H. A. Watson.
9. ,, C. A. Souter.
10. ,, S. H. Slater.
11. ,, A. McG. C. Tampoe.
12. ,, C. W. E. Cotton.
13. ,, V. Ch. John.
14. ,, M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar.
15. Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur.
16. Abdul Wahab Sahib Bahadur.
17. Mr. H. B. Ari Gowder.
18. ,, A. B. Shetty.
19. ,, J. Bheemayya.
20. ,, J. A. Davis.
21. ,, R. Foulkes.
22. ,, Gnanavaram Pillai.
23. Mahmud Schamnad Sahib Bahadur.
24. Mr. J. Kuppuswami.
25. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappah Bahadur.
26. Rao Bahadur O. M. Narayanan Nambudripad.
27. Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai.
28. ,, K. Krishnan.
29. ,, N. Siva Raj.
30. ,, V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
31. ,, W. P. A. Soundara Pandia Nadar.
32. Mr. S. Subrahmanya Moopnar.
33. ,, Daniel Thomas.
34. ,, S. Venkayya.
35. Nattam Dubash Khadir Sahib Syed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur.
36. Rai Sahib M. Hampayya.
37. The Zamindar of Singampatti.
38. Mr. W. E. Smith.
39. ,, F. E. Corley.
40. Khan Bahadur P. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur.
41. Mr. G. R. Premayya.
42. ,, K. Ramachandra Padayachi.
43. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan.
44. Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar.
45. The Zamindar of Kallikota.
46. The Raja of Panagal.
47. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro.
48. Mr. P. T. Rajan.
49. Khan Bahadur Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur.
50. Mahamud Kadir Mohideen Sahib Bahadur.
51. Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar.
52. Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu.
53. Diwan Bahadur A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiyar.
54. Mr. A. B. Bhanoji Rao.
55. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliyar.
56. Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi.
57. ,, C. Gopala Menon.

Ayes 36. Noes 57.

The amendment was lost. The House then adjourned for lunch.

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.)

V

ADJOURNMENT MOTION *re* SEIZURE OF COPIES OF BHARATHI'S SONGS BY THE POLICE.

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" Mr. President, Sir, I beg leave to move that the business of this House do stand adjourned to consider a matter of urgent public importance, namely, the recent action of the City Police in entering upon and searching the premises of the Hindi Prachar Sabha on the High Road, Triplicane, for copies of Bharathi's songs, and seizing nearly two thousand copies of the same.

" Sir, in support of this motion, I do not think I need advance elaborate or detailed arguments. For, I know, Sir, I am not exaggerating the feeling of any Member of this House who is a Tamilian, or who knows Tamil, or who is a patriot, or who is not afraid of patriotism, when I say that one wants no

arguments to support this vote of censure on the action of the Madras Government in having acquiesced in or directed the City Police to seize what will remain, in spite of the Madras Government's activities, so long as the Tamil language lasts or a single Tamilian exists, as the most priceless and patriotic songs in that great language.

"Sir, the late Subrahmanya Bharathi was a man on whose tongue, to use the language of romance for half a minute, the Goddess Saraswathi can honestly be believed to have danced the dance of patriotism. If he had been born in any free country, why in any country of the world except India, that man would have been made the Poet-Laureate of that country, would have been given honours and titles by a Government which knows how to respond to the feelings of the people, and would have lived and died among the most honoured of the nation. But, Sir, being the slave country that we are, he had to live as an exile in Pondicherry, enjoying the hospitality of the French Government, and die a broken wreck, because he found no use for himself under the auspices of this Government. But, Sir, martyrs and patriots before him have gone to the same fate. Subrahmanya Bharathi lived and died a patriot. I want to repeat, Mr. President, that so long as the Tamil language lasts, you may confiscate all the copies which exist—even as our sacred Vedas were handed down from generation to generation, for aeons, without a single piece of writing, by the memory of our ancient Hindu ancestors, even as Macaulay was able to repeat every line of Milton's 'Paradise Lost', I have no doubt, that so long as a single Tamilian lives, these songs will remain the priceless heritage of the Tamil race. I can inform this House, Mr. President, after this ill-advised action of the Government, we are starting a propaganda for getting by heart every song of Subrahmanya Bharathi, and although the hon. the Law Member and the hon. the Home Member may between them confiscate every printed word of those patriotic songs, human ingenuity has not yet invented any machinery which is able to confiscate thoughts and memories. Thoughts and memories will flourish, and wherever the hon. the Law Member or the Home Member goes, they will hear only these songs sung, and they will have to apply cotton wool to their ears if they want to save themselves from being polluted by hearing these brave and patriotic songs.

"Sir, the origin of this action is not even complimentary to this Government. This Government is here governing the bulk of the Tamilians in whose language these poems are written. These poems are a quarter of a century old. For nearly twenty-five years, these songs have been sung throughout the province, and I appeal to my hon. Friend the Chief Minister, who I know is a very good student of Tamil, whether he has not heard and enjoyed these songs, whether he has not heard and felt his pulse beat quicker, and his blood run warmer in his veins, when these magnificent, soul-stirring songs were sung. I am sorry my two other friends who crossed the floor are not here. If they were here, they dare not contradict me when I say that some of the election methods by which they came to this very Council, which gave them the opportunity to cross the floor and become Ministers, were these patriotic songs sung by boys and girls in public meetings. Sir, do you know that in this Tamil country, if you want to get up a maginificent meeting, if you want to sustain the interest of the audience, the most usual method is to get

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these songs sung? I wish I had the voice to sing a few of those songs here, which will melt even the stony hearts of the hon. the Law Member and the Home Member. I will read some of them, and even a prosaic reading of these songs will melt the hearts of these people.

" Sir, it seems to me that for this Government to obey the dictates of the Burma Government, as if they have no opinion of their own in the matter, is inconsistent with a Government which has any sense of self-respect about it. Sir, the origin of this is the notification published by the Burma Government at Rangoon on the 7th August 1928 in the Police Department.

They say: ' In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the booklet in Tamil entitled "The National Songs, Parts I and II" composed and published by C. Subrahmanya Bharathi in the Bharathi's Asramam at Triplicane, Madras, on the ground that it contains seditious matter, the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code as tending to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India '

Sir, section 99-A of the Criminal Procedure Code, which is one of the effects of the recommendations of Press Act Repeal Committee, over which some of our countrymen went enthusiastic, says when a local Government passes the order the police may seize the same wherever found in British India and any magistrate may authorize any Police officer to enter upon and search for the same in any premises. Now, I want to know from the hon. the Law Member or whoever is in charge of this department and is going to reply to me, why this notification was published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 11th September 1928. Is there any rule by which notifications of local Government are automatically republished in the *Fort St. George Gazette*? I know of no such rule. The only rule or practice I know of is that the resolutions and notifications of the Government of India published in the *Gazette of India* are republished by the Madras Government in the *Fort St. George Gazette* for the information and guidance of the people of this province. There is no rule which requires, so far as I know, the republication in the *Fort St. George Gazette* of this order of the Burma Government. I should like to know why the local Government published this order.

" The next stage, Sir, comes when the Police applied for a warrant before the Chief Presidency Magistrate to search those premises and to seize those copies. The application was made by Mr. Saptur Hussain, Inspector, Intelligence Department. The application says: ' I beg to submit that under notification, in G O. Mis. No. 739, Public, dated the 7th August 1928 of the local Government, Burma, republished by the local Government of Madras in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 11th September 1928, the booklet styled ' the National Songs ', Parts I and II by C. Subrahmanya Bharathi have been forfeited to His Majesty under section 99-A of Criminal Procedure Code. I request this Honourable Court to issue a warrant authorizing me to enter upon and search for the same in (1) Hindi Prachar Press, Triplicane, (2) Bharathi's Asramam, Talayari street, (3) O.N. Dandapani and Company, where such booklets are reasonably suspected to be stored.' With regard to this application for warrant, Mr. President, I want to know whether this action was taken by the Commissioner of Police at his own instance and on his own

responsibility, or whether the Member of Government in charge of the Police had any knowledge or notice of it. If he had no knowledge or notice of it, I want to know whether it is the policy of the Madras Government that in first-class political matters like this, seizure of proscribed literature under orders of another local Government, the Police are going to be allowed to act on their own responsibility, without so much as 'by your leave' of the Government. Then, Sir, I want to know whether the order was applied for by the Police after taking the permission of the Government or at least letting them know that they propose to do it. On that, Sir, the Chief Presidency Magistrate passed this order—

'Whereas complaint has been made before me of the possession of undermentioned prescribed booklets and it has been made to appear to me that the production of the copies of the said booklets is essential to the inquiry now being made into the said offence . . .'

"It is not clear, Sir, what the offence referred to is. Whatever it is, the facts are the Police did apply for and the Magistrate issued a warrant, and as many as two thousand copies of this book have been seized and forfeited to His Majesty and kept in the Record office of the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

"Apart from the political or literary aspect of this matter, Mr. President, there is the human aspect about it This man, Subrahmanya Bharathi, as I have said, died a broken man, a poor man, leaving behind him a widow and two daughters whose only means of subsistence is the proceeds of the sales of these books, and some friends have offered themselves to publish these books and to remit the profits out of those sales for the maintenance of this family of this great but poor man. As a consequence, the Bharathi Asramam and the Hindi Prachar Sabha in Triplicane are spending and have spent money on this publication, and after selling these publications they are going to send the profits for the maintenance of the widow and the daughters of this great and patriotic man. Is it consistent with charity or good sense or even ultimately the sense of honour of this Government that they should seek to deprive a widow and two fatherless children of their only means of subsistence in order that they may pursue the Burma Government's vendetta against high and patriotic literature of this kind? Apart from anything else, that must appeal to every hon. Member of this House. Are you going to punish the widow and the daughters of Subrahmanya Bharathi, because he wrote patriotic songs, and punish them in this mean and despicable manner by depriving them of their livelihood? It is mean; it is contemptible; it is unworthy of any Government which wants to call itself civilized or self-respecting or honourable.

"Then, I want to point out, Mr. President, that in this matter, the anomalies and absurdities of dyarchy have been shown in excelsis. My hon. Friend the Chief Minister, a few months ago, in answer to questions on the floor of this
2-45 p.m. House, said that his Government had no objection to the teaching or singing of Bharathi's songs in Government and aided schools in our Presidency. Look at the action of the hon. the Education Minister. He knows Tamil, he knows the songs, and the Council thanks him for his act of patriotism by which he allowed these songs to be sung in the schools provided by the Government He sits there, he is still the Chief Minister and the most powerful Minister; he makes and unmakes ministries at his will; and

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yet with all his great powers of formation, destruction and reorganization, this great minister is unable to influence his two Colleagues who are now sitting to the right and left of him, the hon. the Home Member and the hon. the Law Member, who do not say a word to the Chief Minister but listen to the Burma Police directing the Madras Police to seize by warrant and forfeit to His Majesty those very books which the hon. the Chief Minister thinks furnish the intellectual pabulum to our young children and on which they could be reared as honourable citizens; but when it comes to the reserved half it is to be forfeited (laughter). I do not know whether it is a matter for laughter or tears. That is for him to decide. But if I were the hon. the Chief Minister, I would rather be a dog and bay at the moon than be such a Minister as to be compelled to look on when his own Colleagues snap their fingers at him saying 'You may sing Bharathi's songs in schools and colleges but we will forfeit them.' I will not say anything more about him; for he is the only good man in the whole piece. Let us go to the villains of the piece, the hon. the Home Member and the hon. the Law Member, and both of them are Indians. I believe they have not given up their claim to be called Indians. The hon. the Law Member was till the other day sitting on this side or that side of the House, and I know he is a very good speaker in Malayalam, one who is listened to with respect. Supposing there are patriotic songs in Malayalam of the nature I am going to read presently, does he think that he will forfeit those songs because a neighbouring Government called them seditious? And what about the Home Member? He represents Islamic culture there; he is there to protect Islamic interests; he is there, not for any other reason, but to see that the great Islamic culture is preserved intact from the invasion of the secular Government. Is it consistent with Islamic culture which is based on democracy, charity and free thinking, that he should be a party to this deliberate and wicked attempt at poisoning the intellect of the nation at its very fountain source and telling the people, 'You shall not become patriotic, you shall not become proud of your country, you shall not love your country, but you always shout with me that we will be slaves, that Britain shall rule over the waves'? If that is their attitude, I can understand their action. If on the other hand these gentlemen claim to be patriots, I put it to my friend the Law Member—he is not a lawyer listening to the arguments of another lawyer on the other side vigorously taking notes and answering argument by counter-argument, that he should keep his heart open, his brains open, if he can, to listen to us and convert himself and have the courage to get up and say 'Mr. President, I am ashamed of the action of the Madras Government; I shall recall the order.' I do not think he will rise to that occasion, but still I hope he will offer to do so. (A voice: Hoping against hope!)

"Then, Sir, what are these songs? I am not going to dwell on their seditious nature, under your ruling. I merely want to tell the House these are songs with the like of which one is familiar in English literature, such as praising the country, praising her natural beauties, praising her great heroes and heroines, praising her great achievements, expressing unmitigated love for the motherland, expressing joy in her present and hope in her future. Are these things unworthy of any nation? These books have been proscribed, I have got copies here and I can make a present of them to the hon. the Home Member or the Law Member, I will make a present of them to the Council Library, and if the police want them they can go and search there and

take them. I shall read from the first book of songs in order to convince the House that there was no need for the Government to confiscate this literature—

மெ—எங்கள்
வந்தேமாதரம் என்போம்
மானிலத்தாயை வணங்குது மென்போம் (வந்தே).
ஜாதிமதங்களைப் பாரோம்—உயர்
ஜன்மமித் தேசத்தி லெய்தினராயின்
வேதியராயினு மொன்றே—அன்றி
வேறு குலத்தினராயினு மொன்றே (வந்தே).
ஈனப் பறையர்களேனும்—அவர்
எம்முடன் வாழ்ந்திங்கிருப்பவ ரன்றோ ?
சீனத்தராய் விடுவாரோ ? பிற
தேசத்தார்போற் பல தீங்கிழைப்பாரோ (வந்தே).

"We will worship our Mother, we will not mind to which caste or which religion, our fellow citizens belong; if they are born in this country, all of them are our brothers even if they are called Pariahs; are they foreigners ?

ஒன்றுபட்டால் உண்டுவாழ்வே
நம்மில் ஒற்றுமை நீங்கில் அனைவர்க்கும் தாழ்வே
நன்றிது தேர்ந்திடல் வேண்டும்
இந்த ஞானம வந்தார்பின் நமக்கெதுவேண்டும் ? (வந்தே).

"I commend these lines to the particular attention of the hon. the Law Member and the Chief Minister and the Home Member. If we are united we can live; if we are not united we are all equally humiliated, Treasury Bench and the opposition alike. (Laughter.) Then I appeal to the Tamilians. Have you heard any more inspiring lines than these ? I have not.

செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே—இன்பத்
தேன் வந்துபாயுது காதினிலே—எங்கள்
தந்தையர் நாடென்ற பேச்சினிலே—ஒரு
சத்திபிறக்குது மூச்சினிலே—எங்கள் (செந்தமிழ்).

"I do not know, Sir, if there is any Tamilian in this House or outside whose heart will not melt at these songs. I ask them to remember this, that these songs are now declared forfeited to His Majesty by the action of a government which are to a certain extent kept in those treasury benches by us. The music of it is so great that even a halting reader of those songs like myself can make an appeal to the members here.

ஓங்கிவளர்ந்ததோர் கம்பம்—அதன்
உச்சியின்மேல் வந்தேமாதரமென்றே
பாங்கினெழுதித்திகழும்—செய்ய
பட்டொளி வீசிப்பரந்தது பாரீர் (தாயின்).

"Look at this great flag of the mother on which are written the words 'Vandemataram.'

"Also may I commend these lines to the hon. the Minister for Excise—

வீர சுதந்திரம் வேண்டி நின்றார் பின்னர்
வேறொன்று கொள்வாரோ ?—என்றும்
ஆரமு துண்ணுதற் காசை கொண்டார் கள்ளில்
அறிவைச் செலுத்து வாரோ ?

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" Those who have once striven for complete independence will not go after the other things afterwards. Those who hunger after divine nectar will not run after toddy.

வந்தேமாதரமென்று வணங்கியபின்
மாயத்தை வணங்குவரோ
வந்தேமாதர மென்றேதாரக
மென்பதை மறப்பாரோ ?

" Will they forget that Vandemataram song is the only life-giving song for us; and as for the beautiful Tamil language, this is what Subrahmanya Bharathi wrote :

யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழிபோல்
இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணோம்
பாமரராய், விலங்குகளாய், உலகனைத்தும்
இகழ்ச்சி சொலப் பான்மை கெட்டு
நாமமது தமிழரேன கொண்டிங்கு
வாழ்ந்திடுதல் நன்றோ ? சொல்வீர் !
தேமதுரத் தமிழோசை உலகமெலாம்
பரவும் வகை செய்தல் வேண்டும்.

" Why is this song forfeited ? I have listened to the hon. the Law Member shouting here yesterday ; he has not even read these songs, but still he has forfeited the book. I can understand if the Government has chosen one of these songs or two and said that those songs should be forfeited. They have not done anything of the kind. These two volumes consist of some of the most moving songs on our religion and letters, apart from pure patriotism.

" I shall finish by referring to similar songs in English literature which Englishmen sing in their country, which they sing even in our own country in private dinner parties and other places. They sing of the glories of England 'Britain shall rule the waves, Britain shall never be slaves'—but Indians shall always be slaves. That is the burden of their songs, if they are to be judged by the results of their actions. Lord Tennyson sang :

'At her girdle clash
The golden keys of the East and West ;
Her mailed hand keeps the keys
Of such teeming destinies.'

William Blake wrote.

'Their mighty wings stretch from East to West
Their nest is in the sea, but they shall roam
Like eagles for the prey .'

Then England's message in Parker's words :

'Then courage, all brave mariners
And never be dismayed
Then be bold—work for gold
When the stormy winds do blow.'

" Lord Tennyson says :

'The fleet of England is her all in all,
Her fleet is in your hands,
And in her fleet her fate.'

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"I want to point out three capital differences between the English nationalistic litrature and ours. English nationalistic literature boasts of its own strength and speaks of the confusion and destruction of their enemies. 'God save the King, send victorious, happy and glorious and confound his enemies.' That is the Englishman's song. The Englishmen's psychology is that God has to deal with only two categories, England and her subjects on the one hand and her enemies on the other. That is, God must give up all His other work and constantly save England and confound her enemies. Humanity has come under these two categories, England and her subjects on the one hand or England and her enemies on the other. Whereas the message of Subrahmanya Bharathi is the message of all races, of poets, philosophers and seers of all nations. लोकाः समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु is our motto. Let India be free and happy and the other nations of the world be free and happy. Is it for preaching this message of peace on earth and goodwill to all men that the Madras Government which does not understand the A B C of patriotism or nationalism have ventured to lay its profane hand on this sacred literature? We are constantly told that we are a nation of many races and creeds. Bharathi was a Brahman by birth, and I appeal to non-Brahmans in the South—several of them were his friends and I do not want to name them—to say whether throughout his literature, there is a single trace of caste or communal bias or superiority or inferiority. He talks only of Indians as a whole, he knows no distinction of class or creed, race or religion. He is the most cosmopolitan that I know of among modern authors. Is it for preaching this harmony among men that his books are sought to be forfeited by this Government? It seems to me that this action of the Government cannot be justified on any basis whatever, either of duty or of reason.

"I have only one word, Mr. President. This motion is going to be pressed to a division. This motion, I know, will be passed. But I also know that the present Government, constituted as it is, will not listen to the united voice of this House. But the matter is not going to end here. It is a challenge to the literary genius of the Tamil race; it is a challenge to the self-respect of those whose mother tongue is Tamil. It is a challenge to all those patriotic citizens here and elsewhere who value intellectual freedom and value patriotism. I appeal to them all to see to it that this battle does not end here, but is taken to the hustings, and every elected member who votes against this motion, let him remember that the moment he rises to support the action of the Government, his fate as an elected member is sealed for once and for all. I appeal to the Tamil friends on the Treasury benches to see that this order is revoked. I have great pleasure in making this motion."

3 p.m. * Mr. C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding this motion. The action taken under section 99-A is not obligatory on the police or the magistrate. This action under section 99-A has not originated with the Madras Government. It was an order issued by the Burma Government and the Government of Madras immediately sprang it on the Madras public. The Government of Madras should not have taken such a precipitate action on the order issued by the Burma Government. The Burma Government cannot be expected to understand Tamil better than the Madras Government which can boast of at least two Tamil-knowing Members on the Treasury bench. The late Mr. Subrahmanya Bharathi

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is adored in South India as a national asset and as a king of poets. He is one who has sacrificed his all on the altar of his motherland. His songs are soul-stirring ones and the most popular in South India. It is sung in all public meetings and public functions. Even at the recent Law Dinner held at Ootacamund, I understand that the hon. the Law Member showed particular eagerness to hear those songs sung and that they were accordingly sung and were appreciated by the hon. the Law Member as well as by the hon. the Chief Minister, and the Minister for Excise along with other officials. They have been introduced in many Taluk Board and Municipal schools and are being sung popularly for the last fifteen years. When nothing has happened so far as a result of it, and when the Madras Government has itself found nothing objectionable in them for so long a time, they should not have taken such a hasty action on the order of the Burma Government and seized the volumes containing the Bharathi songs. Yesterday, Sir, when this motion was being moved, the hon. the Law Member said that seizure was only in the Bharathi Asramam. I may say for his information that it is not confined to the Bharathi Asramam The books at the Dandapani Company also have been seized and, any day, other places might be searched and books seized. I hope he will put an end to these seizures. The Madras Government have exhibited absolute want of discretion and judgment in this matter. They have thrown an affront and an insult to the Tamil reading public who will not take it lying down. The Government should retrace its steps if it cares for the feelings and opinion of the people. If the Government hoped to check the national aspiration of the people of South India by this action of theirs, they are entirely mistaken. I would appeal to the hon. the Law Member, who was till recently the floor leader of the Justice party, which stands for Tamil culture, to rescind the order of seizure and give back the books to the owners concerned. May I appeal to my friends of the democratic party of which the hon. the Law Member himself belongs, to join us in effectively condemning this deliberate inroad of the Government on the expression of national feeling? I appeal to the House to vote for the motion."

* Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar :—" Sir, I have great pleasure, nay, I feel it a privilege to add my voice to the very eloquent words of the hon. Member for the University in support of this motion. Sir, I think it does not require, at any rate it should not require, much persuasion from these benches to the hon. the Law Member and the hon. the Home Member to take very early steps to hasten back from the ill-advised, unpatriotic and unwise step they have taken at a weak moment in connexion with this matter. Sir, I say this for many reasons and among them this is one: They happen to be Indians and whatever limitations they may be under and whatever benefits they may get by this action during the remainder of their tenure of office, it is at any rate our duty to remind them of the longer and darker period during which they will stand condemned not only by the public at large but by generation after generation yet to come if they do not retrace their steps. They might snap their fingers at us to-day. They have got their packed majority. But posterity is a thing which they cannot take in, in that easy manner. No statesman in the history of the world has ever succeeded in cheating posterity. Let them take note of that. There is also another implication from which they cannot escape. It would seem, Sir, that they are unpatriotic, weak vascillating and unnational enough not to hesitate to suppress

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the national literature of the Tamils and yet they are cowards not to take action till now and were to wait for the Burma Government to take the first step. They are cowards and wanted this pretext to take action in the matter. I do not attribute this evil motive to them. But they cannot escape the public attributing these motives to them. Therefore, in their own interest I would appeal to them, with all the earnestness I can command, to gracefully back out of the most unhappy situation which they have got themselves into.

"Sir, even if they wanted to suppress patriotic literature in this country— I would not be so uncharitable as to say that their object is that—I can tell them that they can never succeed. In no country in the world have such measures succeeded. No Minister however strong and however wicked he may be, has succeeded in putting down national aspirations, especially through suppression of literature. May I present to the hon. Members, a page from the history of Irish politics where, not for a century or for fifty years, but for nearly eight hundred years, the hand of Britain tried to put down or stifle if not kill the national aspirations of Irishmen separated from them by a narrow stretch of sea barely sixty miles long? They suppressed every bit of Irish literature. But what happened? Publications appeared like mushrooms from every village and hamlet of Ireland. Sir, obliging countries like Germany, United States and France produced bundles and bales of such proscribed literature and smuggled them into the ports of Ireland which are numerous and near each other. Sir, the daily press was suppressed. Sir, one evening one paper was suppressed, but the next morning the paper reappeared under a different name. Where it was printed or published nobody knew. But every morning as punctually as the 'London Times' or its Dublin prototype the 'Irish Times' was printed and delivered at the doors of Irishmen. Not only that. Every little urchin, every woman and every street beggar began to sing proscribed songs. In the courts, in the railway carriages, in front of the police stations, in the schools, etc., these songs were sung. When the school authorities proscribed them, the songs were sung before the school hours and after the school hours in the presence of the headmaster himself. So much so, it became a pestilence and Government almost became impossible. Not only that, Sir. Such a policy of repression gave birth to a new set of literature. I will give you one example. I am referring to that immortal play called 'The Rising of the Moon,' published by that great patriot and poet Lady Gregory. When the policy of suppression of the so-called seditious literature was at its height in Ireland, there was a famous patriotic singer who could sing those mellifluous songs in a soul-stirring manner. That ballad singer was in requisition everywhere. No funeral and no marriage feast was complete without that famous ballad singer of Ireland. He went and sang before the very Sessions Court. The authorities tried to send him away but he would not go and sang before the Judge and the Jury. A proclamation was issued for his arrest and the whole police force in Ireland was hunting after him. The man was hiding for some time under a barrel waiting for a boat to take him to another country where the long arm of the police would not reach him. At the same time, there was waiting for him like a hunter the chief police officer of Ireland. This ballad singer appeared just at the time when the boat was approaching the shore. The police officer saw him and asked who he was.

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He said 'I am a poor ballad singer' and began to sing a few songs purposely substituting wrong words for the correct ones to test the mind of the police officer. He succeeded in his attempt. The police officer forgetting his duty for the moment remembering that after all he was an Irishman began to correct the ballad singer and say 'You have misplaced this word there, and that word here.' Then the ballad singer turned round and said: 'You, Sir, appear to be a police officer. How come you to know the hunted Irish rebels' song?' He said: 'Yes, I am a police officer; but there was a time when I was a young boy in Ireland in a far-off village born and bred among the millions of Irishmen. There, from my mother's lips and from my grandmother's lips, I heard these songs and they are imprinted in my memory. When you sang them wrongly they began to jar upon my ears and that is why I am correcting you.' Therefore, when my hon. Friend, Mr. Tulasiram, is going to sing Bharathi's stanzas I hope the hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan or the hon. Mr. Krishnan Nair (in spite of his ignorance of Tamil) will correct him and say 'You ought to sing in this tune. You ought not to sing in that tune.' I am sorry I cannot sing. So, people may wear the garb of the Government office for some time, but they cannot stifle, they cannot kill the bubbling enthusiasm or patriotism which they had before they crossed the floor in this House. Sir, this ill-advised step should be retraced by the hon. Members if they are still desirous of being regarded as Indians. You cannot suppress altogether by one ukase of your pen the political aspirations of the vast millions from whom you came and to whom at the end of your term of office you will have to return. Sir, do not think these gilded benches are your eternal rest or your lasting rest. Sir, if not you, your children will have to live in this land. Sir, I ask the hon. the Law Member to try this experiment. Suppress to-day the songs of Vallathol (Malayalam poet) and go back to your native Palghat and see what a reception awaits you there. No, this cannot be done. In the East or in the West, in the North or in the South, among no nation in the world, has such a suppression of the natural aspirations of the people succeeded and will succeed. And, thank God, it shall not succeed.

"Sir, you know the Andhras. They are as inflammable as the Tamils when their patriotic passions are excited.

"When in 1921 the burning patriotism of the Andhras found its expression 3-15 p.m.
in the undying national literature of the time, what were the songs that were sung in those days? I am sorry I am not able to sing those songs any more than the hon. Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar. But these songs contributed very largely to the promotion of mass education. It is not the schools of Dr. P. Subbarayan, not even at the rate of one school for every five hundred of the population or the school with Rs. 1,000 type design building but it is the national songs sung even by the beggars and the poor that contributed largely to the political education of the Andhras in 1920 and 1921. The famous poem *Dandalu Dandal* was proscribed but every professional *Nagaswaram* man in the Telegu country took it up.'

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has exceeded his time limit."

Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR ;—"I shall finish soon. Take another instance, the song, మాకొద్దు యీ తెల్ల దొరతనము. When the auther was placed

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before judge who ultimately convicted him, he said, ' Let me go to jail, it does not matter. But please let me sing the song once more.' So saying he sang the song and while he was singing he was led to the jail. Therefore, Sir, if you persist in this action, you may find some of us, members of this Council, representatives of the people, the poorest of the poor, sing these songs here everyday when the hon. the President comes to the chamber and sing them again at the end of the day when the hon. the President goes out of the Chamber. (Hear, hear.) You may push us out, you may bring your sergeants, but you will be surprised if we do not persist in adopting this effective method by which we will regain our patrimony."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member is requested to resume his seat."

Mr. Chavadi K. SUBRAMANIA PILLAI :—" Mr. President, Sir, I support the motion. These songs have been openly sung in our schools and on our public platforms for a long number of years. The Government of Madras did not take any action of their own accord. They have now acted as the executioners at the bidding of Burma Government without giving a verdict of their own. Undoubtedly the Government of the Tamil Province of Madras would have more quickly discovered the poisonous element, if any in these Tamil songs than the Government of Burma. It is sad that a reactionary policy is adopted by the Madras Government on the eve of the advent of so called reforms, unless the object of the Government is to the growth of nationalism and the patriotic passion, it is the duty of the Government to undo the wrong of seizure by the Police and to leave the Government of Burma to run amuck unassisted."

Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, this is one of the matters which shows the soul-less nature of the Government machinery. The order is made by the Burma Government ; this Government reproduces it in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and the Police forthwith ask for a warrant. The magistrate issues the warrant and the books are seized. Not a moment's consideration is given to the matter by anybody responsible for the administration of this department of work either the hon. the Law Member or the Home Member. They must have had time enough before this motion came up for discussion here to see that justice was done to those involved. These songs have been in existence for thirty years and they have been sung all over the country. I am acquainted with some of those songs and being an Andhra I cannot claim an erudite knowledge of it. As one who has had something to do with Tamil while I was in the City of Madras I feel bound to say that the most enchanting songs I have heard are found in these volumes. There is nothing that a Government can do which will offend the self-respect of the nation more than proscribing its literature. This is literature of the first-rate and it has been claimed to be the literature of the highest order and has been introduced in schools and colleges. Under the circumstances the authorities should have deeply considered the matter before they took such action. The whole of the Bengal Partition agitation and the *Vande Mataram* agitation arose out of the fact that an order regarding the vernacular of Bengal had offended the population. Similarly, I am certain that if the Government go on at this rate and confiscate Barathi's songs, the whole of Tamil land must be in revolt. Government will have to thank themselves if

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the whole of Tamil Nad to a man stands up and says, 'Here are our songs which have been proscribed and we shall sing them ; we shall insist upon singing them ; we shall see what the Government does.' I shall not be surprised if such a movement should be set on foot if this motion should get defeated in this House by the efforts of the hon. the Law Member or the Member in charge of the Police. I am certain that the members of the House are alive to their responsiblities and that this motion will not be lost. Government are responsible for this motion coming into the Council. They had notice of it and it was open to them to have withdrawn the notification or issued a communiqué. In fact both the hon. the Home Member and the Law Member have been sitting quiet while the Police were having their own way, though both of them know some one South Indian language or other. That is a commentary on the system of Government which obtains in this country. The soul-lessness of it is very clear. To proscribe poetry of the highest order which has been in existence for so many years is worse than sedition itself. It is sedition against the whole spirit of the nation, against the very soul of the nation.

"Now, Sir, these books have been in existence for the past thirty years and owing to the fact that the songs appeal to all lovers of Tamil literature and catch the imagination of the people and evoke their admiration, they have run through many editions. Supposing an innocent publisher prints lakhs and millions of copies of these, is it open to the Government or any authority at this stage, to confiscate the books? Who is to bear the loss? It is most uncharitable and most unjust. I therefore feel that this adjournment motion must have the support of both the hon. the Law Member and the Home Member. Of course if they do not vote with us, they may remain neutral or even now accept the motion and rectify the mistake. Perhaps it is too much for them, because the system of Government is such. If they were consulted privately, I am certain that they would vote with us and I have no doubt whatever about that. They have no courage to press their views on the Government. If they have the courage to do the right thing by the people, it is well they are not there. They are there only to abet the bureaucracy which has its own way of doing things. When they come out of their offices, the country will tell them that what they did was absolutely unpatriotic and that they deserved the censure of the nation. I hope, Sir, that this motion will bring the Government to its senses and that we shall have a speedy remedy in this matter and that the nation will be spared the great humiliation of witnessing one of its brightest jewels being attempted to be sent to oblivion by a bureaucratic Government."

* Mr. N. Siva Raj :—"I was somewhat surprised that the learned Member for the University should have thought it fit to make an insinuation against the nominated members of this House. He made his appeal only to the elected members of this House and I am afraid that this is an indiscretion of which he is capable now and then. I resent the insinuation, if it is any insinuation suggesting as it does that he alone has got the monopoly of wisdom and pātriotism, and forgetting for the moment that we the representatives of the depressed classes form also the sons of the soil, perhaps the real sons of the soil. Another aspect of the insinuation is that it does little credit to the intelligence of the nominated members as if they cannot appreciate the

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excellence and popularity of Subramanya Bharathi's Tamil songs. The action of the Madras Government in this matter seems to be one which, though we invariably support its action, we cannot do so now. (Hear, hear), because, Sir, it was dictated neither by reason nor by duty as the hon. Member for the University said. It would certainly have been their duty to proscribe songs of this kind if they preached disaffection against the Government. But so far as my knowledge goes, I have not been able to see that there is any suggestion of disaffection against the Government in these songs.

3-30 p.m. "I do not think that their action is now reasonable, the Government themselves having freely allowed the circulation of the books previously and having introduced the songs in certain schools already. It is for these reasons I find it difficult to withhold my support to the motion."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" On a matter of personal explanation, Sir. I want to say that I meant no insinuation against the nominated Members. I was referring to elected Members because there is sanction behind them. If there were any unconscious insinuation I tender my apologies to my hon. Friends, the nominated Members."

* Mr. T. C. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am really glad that my hon. Friend Mr. Siva Raj has supported the motion. The illustrious Tiruvalluvar says that from whomsoever a good matter may come, it is part of wisdom to appreciate it. Therefore whether it is Subramanya Bharathi or any other writer who came with a message of new hope to the Tamil land, all are welcome, and should be welcomed by all alike.

" Now, Sir, it is really a tragic act that after 20 years when the people, high and low, learned and unlearned, all have taken to a new message and a newer line of song and after all these years, it was left to this Government to take the cue from the Government of Burma where Tamil is not the language of the land to proscribe this book. I am sorry, Sir, that the custodians of the advancement and elightenment of this part of the country should not have thought of preserving and patronizing the poets who have produced fine literature. Yesterday we heard a great deal about patronizing a book on the South Indian birds. Should we not now think that the duty of the Government is, if not to patronize the book and take it as a Government publication and broadcast it, not to proscribe it and not to authorize the Police officers to take away those books? The direct result of the action of the Government will be that it would stand in the way of the sustenance of the widow and her daughter. The books have been in the land for such a length of time that not only the literate population of the country have this book but even the illiterate section of our countrymen have got these songs by heart; and what are the means of the Government to see that these songs which were got by heart are not sung. I may say that, among the literary treasures of the land, Bharathi's songs are the foremost. During the last 50 years beginning with the time when Rajam Ayyar began to write in Tamil prose and Madaviah of Tinnevelly followed him and Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum began to give expression to modern ideas in Tamil poetry, a race of writers, both as lyric poets and as ordinary literary poets arose in the land and enriched the literature and among those names Bharathi's name will always be cherished. I believe the Government of Madras were misled apparently, and that they

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were not correctly informed of the value the people attach to the book. I do not desire to emphasize the political aspect of the songs. I only refer to the literary aspect of them. Carlyle once put himself a question whether the Englishman would like to lose the Indian Empire or Shakespeare, and answered that he would lose the Indian Empire rather than Shakespeare. Will the Tamil land lose the songs of Bharathi? I am sure they will not. I hope the Treasury Bench will take note of the feeling of the people. Have the Government asked the Tamil Ministers, the Education Minister and the Public Health Minister? They think that diarchy still has some value. Diarchy has, we are seeing now, in all sides been failing. If they had only been asked I do not know whether they would have allowed the Government to proscribe the book. What are the songs which are considered objectionable? Have they been classified? I submit, Sir, that in this action of the Government no part of the House can support the Government."

[a] Mr. T. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir. The other day we had a very regrettable surprise when we read in the papers that the Madras Police were busying themselves with the seizure of some books published in the name of Subramanya Bharathi. These books have been in our midst for more than two decades and we have been listening all the years to the songs contained in them, and the country has not been in any way disturbed thereby. The songs have reference only to events that occurred some twenty years back, and therefore belong to a historic past. As such, they cannot be expected to have any inflammatory influence on the public. As a thing of the past they are not of much value for our present political purposes. But they have their own value for literary and other æsthetic purposes.

" In this connexion, I may be permitted to refer to the passage in Carlyle to which my hon. Friend, Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar, just now referred. Carlyle says, if he were given an alternative, he would have Shakespeare and allow the Indian Empire to go; and incidentally, in that passage says, that the Indian Empire must some day go. Suppose for this statement of Carlyle, the Madras Police busy themselves with seizing all the copies of ' Heroes and Hero wroship ' in the Madras book depots, what would happen? Forthwith the prodigious sides of John Bull would be split with laughter! How is the present performance of the Madras Police different.

" Small little girls, robed in picturesque and variegated colours often have their roundelays of kolattam, singing the inspiring songs of Bharathi; and we have listened to them and they produce only a peaceful and peace giving effect. Nothing of the sordid and the egoistic often associated with politics, enters our head.

" Now, Sir, by the seizure of Bharathi's songs, have the Madras Police rescued the land from any dangerous disturbance and secured peace? They have, on the other hand, irritated the public and the whole Tamil world is burning with indignation. Is it the song books of Bharathi that are inflammatory? No, Sir, it is the action of the Madras Police that is inflammatory.

" So long as no one Member in our body asserts its existence so long is our body healthy, in the same way the society or the body politic is healthy so long as no one department is asserting itself in any unnecessary manner.

The Madras Police, I regret to say, has been asserting its existence in all too morbid a manner. I therefore, Sir, heartily support the motion before the House."

*Mr. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB :—" Sir, I am very much thankful to my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti for the excellent speech delivered just a while ago and if oratory can have any effect, I think the whole House must vote with him. But I am sorry I do not know Tamil myself. Therefore I cannot very well appreciate the songs and the patriotic feelings contained in those songs. I wish that Mr. Satyamurti had given me those books, so that I can have them read to me. If the facts are as he says that they do not contain anything objectionable, the Government have acted wrongly. I am waiting what hon. Members on the other side have got to say on this point. When senior lawyers are arguing, juniors have simply to wait and see. If the Government had proscribed any of the patriotic Malayalam songs, I would certainly have stood up and said 'no'. As they are Tamil songs, I cannot say all at once one way or the other. I shall wait and see. The oratory of my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, has very well impressed me."

Mr. RAMANATH GOENKA :—"Mr. President, Sir, I am an occasional speaker and I have no desire to speak on every motion before the House. But this is a matter on which I have been actuated to speak by my real desire and from my heart of hearts. I am not a Tamil scholar ; I do not know even the A, B, C of the Tamil language. From what I have already heard of Bharathi's songs and from what hon. Members have said on this occasion, I would say that the Tamilians of this Province have every right to sing these songs. As a Member of the Committee of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, I want to say that these books were published by that Sabha at their own cost whose workers beg from door to door to educate the people of Madras in Hindustani. They stand to lose to the extent of not less than Rs. 2,000.

" Yesterday, the Government brought forward a motion for the sanction of a sum of Rs. 4,000 for a book regarding South Indian birds. This sum of Rs. 4,000 has been in my opinion thrown into the Bay of Bengal. It was the duty of the Government to publish the songs of Bharathi and broadcast them ; it was for them to distribute free copies to illiterate masses to read them. My hon. Friends on the opposite benches said yesterday that those books would be useful to the agriculturists. I cannot really understand what agriculturists have got to do with those books. If the agriculturists have got to do with any songs they are Bharathi's songs and Bharathi's songs alone.

"I am surprised at the action of my hon. Friend, Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar. I had great hopes of him. (Laughter.) I do still have great hopes. I myself congratulated him when he was made the Law Member. I thought he would be one who would really carry out the duties of his office But unfortunately, Mr. President, I see that the hon. the Law Member has not carried out my expectations. As a true Law Member he should have protested against the order of the Burma Government. He ought to have said 'you might proscribe the book ; but we do not find any reason why it should be proscribed here.' It was not done ; not only that ; all the books have been taken away by the Police.

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"I request the hon. the Law Member, Dr. Subbarayan and Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar, the new Minister, to support us; and if they do not do so, we will have to form a different opinion of them. As was pointed out by my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, the hon. Dr. Subbarayan, in answer to a question put by some hon. Member of this House, said that he would recommend these books to be taught in schools in the Madras Presidency. On the one hand the hon. the Education Minister says that he wants these books to be taught in the schools of Madras; on the other hand the hon. the Law Member says that he does not want these books and that they contain seditious matter. I find that not a single speech has been made in support of the action of the Government in proscribing and confiscating these books. The feeling in this House and outside it is unanimous that the action of the Government is wrong.

"My friend, Mr. Schamnad, tried his very best to pull something here and there, but even he said 'No, no, I cannot form any opinion either way now.' I have not heard a single speech so far against the motion and I am only waiting for the speech of my hon. Friend, the Law Member, as to how he will justify this action. Perhaps the only thing he will say is that because the Rangoon Government did it, he had also to do it. That is not the right course for him to take. Either he should justify his position or he should say that he has done a wrong thing and that he would rectify it. Those are the only two things for him to say—either he should say that these books are seditious or he should say that he has committed a mistake. 3-45 p.m.

"Mr. President, the whole House is unanimous on the motion of Mr. Satyamurti that these books should not be confiscated and that the copies which have already been proscribed should be restored. Mr. President, I am pleased to see that by this motion and by this confiscation the prestige of Bharathi's songs has been increased. People who have not yet bought a copy will buy one now to see what it contains, and even I, who do not know Tamil, will ask some one of my friends to buy one for me in order to see what is in that book. Like that, there will be many more people who will buy a copy each. Therefore I say, as a matter of fact, that the hon. the Law Member and the hon the Home Member have done a great service to the country and to the Madras Presidency in confiscating these books and afterwards saying that these books do not contain seditious matter and that therefore they are open to the public. I wish that my friends in the House would rise to the occasion and support this motion, and I am also waiting to see if the Treasury bench would support this motion."

Mr. S. N. Dorai Raja:—"I am very glad, Sir, that the learned Member for the University was good enough to withdraw the insinuation that only the elected Members of the Madras Legislative Council would be patriotic. Now he has amply made amends for his lapse. I am quite prepared to accept his apology. (Laughter.) Even nominated Members of the Legislature are quite capable of being patriotic. I am perfectly certain that the hon. the Law Member will get up and say that the proscription will now cease."

Mr. Daniel Thomas:—"Mr. President, Sir, there is an old saying to the effect 'Let me make a people's songs and I do not care who makes the laws.' That is a true and not extravagant tribute to the hold of national

songs on the hearts and affections and thoughts of a nation. Laws are made and laws are unmade ; but the songs of a nation are a precious heritage which are handed down from generation to generation. All of us, at least the Tamilians, are keen on the renaissance of the Tamil literature. We know that Tamil was a great language, that Tamil was world-famous many centuries ago and we are anxious that our Tamil literature in the present age should revive something of its ancient traditions and glories. It was in this age of expectation, in this age of anxious desire, that Subrahmanya Bharathi was born and sung these songs. It was as it were as a response to the prayers and the heart-felt desires of a number of Tamilian scholars, learned and unlearned people, rich and poor, of all classes and creeds. And for the last twenty years the name of Subrahmanya Bharathi has been a household word in Tinnevelly. Our children learn and sing those songs and the street-people sing the songs of Subrahmanya Bharathi when they go in procession in the streets. Recently, I visited a friend of mine, a Christian by religion, a man immersed in legal practice, who has no thoughts, no leisure for anything like politics. That man possessed a complete set of Bharathi's songs and he read some select passages from the works to me. That shows what an intimate hold Bharathi's songs have over the people, not alone Tamil scholars, but even over the ordinary man in Tinnevelly. It appears to me, Sir, that the Government of Madras have been ill-advised in launching on this action. As has been pointed out by various members, these songs have been on the market for the last twenty years and have been allowed to be sung, learnt and kept in intimate possession by the Tamil-knowing people. And now at a late stage, for the Government of Madras to come and proscribe all the books at a particular place is an action which will not even achieve their own purposes and objects. How are they going to proscribe the songs of Bharathi ? Are they going to attach the thousands of copies found in all the homes which possess these copies ? After all, even assuming that the Government are able to actually proscribe the publication of these books, can they proscribe the spirit of the man, the genius of the man ? I remember a pamphlet by Milton in defence of unlicensed printing. One of the most classic passages there is that where he says that the work of a genius is as it were the precious life-blood of a master which is handed on as a heritage from generation to generation. In fact, as my hon. Friend remarked, the action of the Madras Government has only tended to give a greater vogue and re-awakened life to the songs which are already dear to the hearts of the people. I therefore believe, as my hon. Friend has expressed, that the hon. the Law Member will come forward and acknowledge that the action that has been taken has not been sound and that there will be no such action in the future."

* Mr. J. A. DAVIS :—" Mr. President, Sir, Members such as myself find ourselves in a very difficult situation Recently the hon. the Education Minister permitted the songs to be sung in schools and no doubt he gave very careful consideration to the matter before he did so. Such being the case no doubt the Chief Minister in justification of his action will be able to induce the Law Member to do something in the matter of throwing oil over the present troubled waters. It will be unfortunate if this resolution is pressed to the vote to-day. I have the greatest sympathy for those lovers of Tamil literature who find these songs proscribed. Since the two hon. Members

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of the same Government are divided on this issue, namely; one declaring that the songs are suitable to be sung in schools and the other taking the responsibility for the seizure of these songs by the Police, it is very difficult for me to record my vote in this matter. The hon. the Law Member would be well advised to see that the difficult situation brought about by the order of the Burma Government is eased and that the matter is talked out."

* Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai :—" Mr. President, Sir, as one interested in Tamil literature and coming out of a community which has immensely contributed to the Tamil literature in this country, I think I will be failing in my duty if I were not to speak a few words in support of the motion before the House. Sir, those gentlemen in this House who know the valuable volumes that have been added to the Tamil literature by Tiruvalluvar will certainly say that the depressed classes, especially the Adi-Dravida people, have a great liking for Tamil. Sir, the other day in a very big public meeting in Ootacamund under the presidency of the hon. Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar, a head pandit of the Presidency College delivered a very eloquent lecture on the greatness of Tamil, and the hon. the Second Minister was kind enough to say to the public that every attempt must be made to bring home to the people the greatness of Tamil literature. And I am sure now that the hon. the Second Minister will hold the same view to-day and give us his support. Sir, coming to Madras on the 4th October, I had the opportunity of attending the Select Committee meeting of the Annamalai University Bill. There, Sir, the hon. Members who sat in committee were unanimous in giving adequate representation to the members of the Tamil Sangam of Madura and the Karanthai Tamil Sangam. These things go to show that the interest evinced by the Members of the Legislative Council towards Tamil literature is very great. Sir, as members of the depressed classes, we have to vote in favour of this particular motion, and the Government should not on that account take it that we are against the Government; for this is a matter in which we should do our duty. In these circumstances, Sir, I heartily support the motion."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar :—" Sir, we have listened to a large number of impassioned and poetic speeches. With your permission and with the permission of the House, let me state a few facts in prosaic language; and the facts themselves are very simple. What actually took place was this: The Burma Government—we do not know the reasons which prompted them to take that action—the Burma Government published that notification which has been referred to more than once on the floor of this House this afternoon. According to an order of the Government of India which lays down that such notifications when they are issued by one Local Government should be published by other Local Governments, as a routine matter, this Government, I mean the office of this Government, sent that notification for republication in the Gazette . . ."

Mr. S. Satyamurti :—" Some clerk, I suppose?"

The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar :—" I do not blame the office or the clerk who sent it. It was a duty, as I said, to send that, according to the notification of the Government of India."

Mr. S. Satyamurti :—" Where is that notification? What is the number and what is the date of that notification?"

The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" It is a confidential one, Sir. (Laughter.) (Voices: 'There it is.') We, Members of the Government, did not interrupt the speakers on the other side, even including my Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, who made all sorts of irrelevant remarks when he made his speech."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" That is for you, Sir, Mr. President."

4 p.m. The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" At least they should have the ordinary courtesy of allowing the spokesman of the Government to finish what he has to say. Now, I was saying, Sir, on behalf of the Government, that I am not in the least inclined to blame my office or the office of the Government for having in the usual course published this notification in the Government Gazette of this Presidency. Then, what took place was this. When this notification appeared in the Gazette, without any special instruction from my hon Friend, the Home Member, or any other Member of Government—I refer to that point for this reason, namely, that my Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, was asking, 'Did the Home Member authorize it, did he issue instructions for the seizure?' The Police asked for a warrant from the Magistrate, for the search and seizure of these books. I may say, Sir, that under the terms of section 99-A, the Police, even without a warrant from the Magistrate, have the authority to seize these books and they applied to the Magistrate for the issue of the warrant. The Magistrate issued the warrant and on their own authority and on the authority of the Chief Presidency Magistrate the Police searched for and seized these books. Of course, we represent our subordinate officers also including the Police and the Magistracy. The question is whether the subordinate officers of the Government, the Police and the Magistrate, erred in either seizing these books or in issuing a search warrant. I cannot in the least blame them. In fact, what are they to do? Are they to sit in judgment on the wisdom or otherwise of the Government of Burma? The Police, in the ordinary course of their duties, thought that they were bound to apply to the Magistrate for a warrant, and after getting the warrant they thought that they were bound to search these books and seize them. (Voices: 'Oh! Are they bound?') So, I am not inclined to blame them. My hon. Friends on the other side, and particularly my Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, were attributing motives to the Government, motives particularly to my Friend, the Home Member, and to myself. I am not disturbed. My hon. Friend (turning to the Home Member) is capable of bearing anything on his broad shoulders. (Laughter.) He also possesses an equanimity of mind which will prevent him from being disturbed by anything; and I do not want to speak anything of myself, except this, that I too am not in the least disturbed. (Laughter.)

" So that the facts are simple; we, the Members of the Government, either individually or collectively, have done nothing which requires condemnation by this Council. Now, how does the position stand? My friends themselves, or their adherents, or their sympathisers have taken the matter to the court. So, by your ruling we are prevented from dealing with the question of sedition. The High Court will decide that these are either seditious or not. If the High Court decides that these are seditious, then the action of the Burma Government will be justified and no further action will be necessary. On the other hand, if the High Court decides that these are not seditious,—in fact the

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High Court will go only into the question whether these are seditious or not —then the notification of the Government of Burma which was republished in our Government Gazette stands cancelled, so that there is nothing to be done at this stage. In fact, we are prohibited from doing anything at this stage. When the matter is before the High Court, the Government, or for the matter of that any other person, is prevented from doing anything. As my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, stated that my Friend Dr. Subbarayan, in answer to a question, had stated that he would introduce these books as text-books in some of the schools and some of my other friends in the Council have stated that these books are already being used as text-books in some of the taluk board schools. What does it show? That fact, namely, that my hon. Friend has promised that he would introduce these books as text-books in some of the schools, shows that this Government has no ill-feeling whatever in this matter. If they wanted to take action on Bharathi's songs, they ought to have done so during the last twenty years. On the other hand, a Member of Government is prepared, according to my hon. Friend, to introduce these books as text-books; that shows that the Government certainly have no ill-feeling whatever. Again my Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, said that the action of the Madras Government has deprived the widow and the poor daughter of Bharathi of their means of livelihood, because it was by the sale of these books that they were maintaining themselves. I am sorry for the widow, and I am equally sorry for the daughter. In fact, I am sorry for all poor widows and daughters. (Laughter.) Does my friend insinuate that the Government did that act with the express purpose of depriving the poor widow and daughter of Bharathi of their means of livelihood? Government have absolutely no motive to deprive the widow or the daughter of any person of the means of their livelihood. As I said, these are the prosaic facts connected with this and I have nothing more to add."

Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI :—"What about future action?"

Mr. L. K. TULASIRAM :—"Mr. President, Sir, I was under the impression that the hon. Member would not treat the matter so lightly or so light-heartedly as he has treated the question. Sir, our complaint against the Government is this. Bharathi's songs are the precious gems of Tamil literature, the assets of the Tamils, just like Tirukkural or Sri Krishna's Bhagavat Gita. Bharathi's songs are being learnt by heart. More than 60 per cent of the school children know these songs by heart. There is not a man either in the school or on a public platform or on the reception of a Minister where these songs are not sung. Bharathi—I classify him as a real divine poet. His books have really been a revelation; they are a message to the people of South India, especially the people of the Madras Presidency. The testimony that has been borne by my hon. Friend, Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar, who is the greatest authority on Tamil literature, and who represents the Tamil Sangam, the highest culture of our Tamil land, and the testimony given by Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar, a cultured student of Kamban, and the testimony given by Mr. Siva Raj, one of the seven Members of the committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission and a descendent of Tiruvalluvar, and the testimony given by Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai of the depressed classes—all these testimonies go to show that the hon. the Law Member did not do his duty in withdrawing this order.

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" Sir, as regards Bharathi's songs, you may really proscribe the books, you may take them away. They are being written in manuscripts and all the students are learning them by heart. I know in Pudumandapam, the price of these books which was something like 6 annas, cannot be got now for Re. 1. The books are in great demand and everybody, who never thought of Bharathi, now goes in for it, saying 'Have you got Bharathi, first part or second part ?' What has your order done ? It has opened the real sense of the people. They have become alive to the value of the songs of Bharathi. It is now more and more in the mind of every man. Sir, I am not a born Tamilian, but as an ardent student of Tamil literature, I have heard these songs sung in the streets, that touched not only my heart, but there are people who are actually carried away by the patriotic feelings. Sir, it is this song that I heard sung in the streets which touched the chord of my heart.

1. செந்தமிழ்நாடெனும் போதினிலே—இன்பத்
தேன்வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே—எங்கள்
தந்தையர் நாடென்ற பேச்சினிலே—ஒரு
சக்திபிறக்குது மூச்சினிலே—எங்கள் (செந்தமிழ்)

2. வேதம் நிறைந்த தமிழ்நாடு—உயர்
வீரம் செறிந்த தமிழ்நாடு—நல்ல
காதல்புரியும் அரம்பையர்போலிளங்
கன்னியர் சூழ்ந்த தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

3. காவிரி தென்பெண்ணை பாலாறு—தமிழ்
கண்டதோர் வையை பொருநைநதி—யென
மேவிய யாறுபல வோடத்—திரு
மேனிசெழித்த தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

" Is there anything higher in your Keates, Wordsworth, Tennyson, or in your Browning ?

4. முத்தமிழ் மாமுனிநீள் வரையே—நின்று
மொய்ம்புறக் காக்குந் தமிழ்நாடு—செல்வம்
எத்தனை யுண்டு புவிமீதே—அவை
யாவும் படைத்த தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

5. நீலத் திரைக்கட லோரத்திலே—நின்று
நித்தந்தவஞ் செய்குமரி யெல்லை—வட
மாலவன் குன்றம் இவற்றிடையே—புகழ்
மண்டிக் கிடக்குந் தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

6. கல்வி சிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு—புகழ்க்
கம்பன் பிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு—நல்ல
பல்விதமாயின சாத்திரத்தின் மணம்
பாரெங்கும் வீசுந் தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

7. வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக்கே—தந்து
வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு—நெஞ்சை
அள்ளும் சிலப்பதிகாரமென்றோர் மணி
யாரம் படைத்த தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

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8. சிங்களம் புட்பகம் சாவக—மாதிய
தீவு பலவினுஞ் சென்றேறி—அங்கு
தங்கள் புலிக்கொடி மீன்கொடியும் நின்று
சால்புறக் கண்டவர் தாய்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

9. விண்ணை யிடிக்கும் தலையிமயம்—எனும்
வெற்பை யடிக்கும் திறனுடையார்—சமர்
பண்ணிக் கலிங்கத் திருள்கொடுத்தார் தமிழ்ப்
பார்த்திவர் க்ன்ற தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

10. சீன மிசிரம் யவனரகம்—இன்னும்
தேசம் பலவும் புகழ்வீசிக்—கலை
ஞானம் படைத்தொழில் வாணிபமும் மிக
நன்று வளர்த்த தமிழ்நாடு. (செந்தமிழ்)

விடுதலை! விடுதலை! விடுதலை!

1. பறையருக்குமிங்கு தீயர் புலையருக்கும் விடுதலை
பரவரோடு குறவருக்கு மறவருக்கும் விடுதலை
திறமைகொண்டு தீமையற்ற தொழில்புரிந்து யாவரும்!
தேர்ந்தகல்வி, ஞானமெய்தி வாழ்வமிந்த நாட்டிலே. (விடுதலை)

2. ஏழையென்றும் அடிமையென்றும் எவனுமில்லை ஜாதியில்
இழிவுகொண்டு மனிதரென்ப திந்தியாவில் இல்லையே
வாழிகல்வி செல்வமெய்தி மனமகிழ்ந்து கூடியே
மனிதர்யாரு மொருநிகர் ஸமானமாக வாழ்வமே. (விடுதலை)

3. மாதர்தம்மை யழிவுசெய்யு மடமையைக்கொளுத்துவோம்,
வையவாழ்வு தன்னிலெந்த வகையிலும் நமக்குளே,
தாதரென்ற நிலைமைமாறி யாண்களோடு பெண்களும்
சரிநிகர், ஸமானமாக வாழ்வமிந்த நாட்டிலே. (விடுதலை)

"Sir, you proscribe this book. I have great respect for Malayalam, as it consists of ancient Tamil. Your Padi-gnaru is nothing but ancient Tamil. It means the sun-setting direction. Take every word of Malayalam; it is ancient Tamil. So I think the hon. Law Member who hails from Kerala will at least give his thoughts before proscribing these gems of Tamil literature. It touches my heart, because you will only put your hand not on the Tamils but on the Tamil literature, on the Tamil classics, the Tamil poetry and above all the divine songs of Bharathi. Bharathi is not an ordinary individual. You cannot proscribe Bharathi's songs. You may as well proscribe our dress, our manners, customs, but you cannot take away our culture. You see that the whole House is unanimous on this matter. Members on that side of the House, the members of the depressed classes, members of the Justice party, members of the Congress party, have all been unanimous in condemning this high-handed action of Government. I only say

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that the action of the Burma Government reminds me of the story of (Gangadhara Mandayo) கங்காதரா மாண்டாயோ. The Burma Government said 'கங்காதரா மாண்டாயோ'; the hon. Law Member said கங்காதரா மாண்டாயோ. What is the effect of கங்காதரா மாண்டாயோ? Gangadhara was the name of a donkey of a washerman who was in a palace. Everybody thought that Gangadhara was a very great man. The Burma Government who do not know anything of Tamil and cannot understand the meaning of Tamil songs proscribed Bharathi's songs. Why not the learned Government and the hon. Member ask them, "why should you think that it
4-15 p.m. is seditious; it has not been seditious for the last 35 years'? It is not sedition; it is pure milk and honey and this you call poison. It is something like 'Gangadhara Mandayo.' The question of 'Gangadhara' should not be applied here. You will be doing a great service to the country specially to the Tamil Nadu. I would therefore appeal to the Government to withdraw this poisonous order and save the reputation of Tamilnad and Tamil culture."

* Mr. T. M. NARAYANASWAMI PILLAI :—"Sir, when I listened to the speech of the hon. the Law Member, I thought really that he made no point in defence of the action taken by the Government. He plainly confessed that no responsibility could be fathered upon him. He said that it was done by somebody in the office."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR : —"I take full responsibility for the action of the office, Sir." (Cries of 'Oh, Oh.')

Mr. T. M. NARAYANASWAMI PILLAI :—"Yes. He takes the responsibility by saying that it was done by somebody in the office in the ordinary discharge of routine duties. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to me as though he certainly accepted the version given against the action of the Government, at any rate he did not deny it. The burden of the various speeches shows that Bharathi was a great national poet. He came up with a new message of hope, a new inspiration. He is the author of the Tamil Renaissance. Now this action of the Government is a great insult to the Tamil literature. (Hear, hear.) It acts as a fatal blow to the growth of Tamil literature. (Hear, hear.) And therefore people who are interested in Tamil land and Tamil literature said that this order of the Government ought to be withdrawn. Of course, if the Government have come forward with the plea that these are false, untrue and wrong, we could very well have understood them. If really the seizure was effected without instructions from either the Law Member or the Home Member, now when we have brought the matter to their notice, it is up to them to see that the order is withdrawn. Of course the suggestion is made that the matter is pending in the High Court. But I say that the decision of the High Court is invited only when there is a dispute. Only then it is a matter which ought to go to the High Court. If the order is withdrawn, there is no need to go to the High Court at all. (Hear, hear.) I am not aware of any obligation under law which prohibits this Government from passing any order when they feel that a particular order is wrong and unjust. If the Madras Government feel that any subordinate of theirs even without instructions from the superiors has carried out an order, it may be, no doubt, in discharge of his duties, and if the Government feel that that action is wrong, where is the objection to withdraw it? (Hear, hear.) Where is the obligation to submit it to the

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decision of the High Court? All discussion has proceeded on the supposition that the Government have no views regarding the seditious nature or otherwise of these songs. If they are really inclined to agree with us that Bharathi is really a national poet who brought us a new message and inspiration, let them say that those songs ought not to be prohibited. These songs were rightly introduced by the other half of the Government into schools. So, I say there is no need to test the seditious nature of these songs in the High Court. I have no need to take up the time of the House any more. This is a matter on which we, Tamilians, feel keenly and we request the hon. the Law Member to see that our request is satisfied by withdrawing the order."

Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar then spoke in Tamil:—

*"அக்கிராசனாதிபதி அவர்களே! நான்கு வேதங்களுக்குச் சமானமாய் எங்களால் போற்றப்படும் எங்கள் சுப்பிரமண்ய பாரதியாரின் அருமையான பாடல்களை பறிமுதல் செய்த அரசாங்கத்தாரின் அக்கிரமச் செய்கையை எந்த தமிழன், எந்த இந்தியன் கண்டிக்காமலிருக்கமுடியும்! தேசபக்தி ததும்பும் அப்பாடல்களைக் கேட்டிராத தமிழருண்டோ! சென்ற பதினைந்து ஆண்டுகளாய் தமிழ் நாட்டிலுள்ள கிராமங்களிலெல்லாம் பாரதியாரின் தேசிய பாட்டுகள் பாடப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. தாலூகா போர்டு, முனிசிபல் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் மாணவர்களுக்கு இப்பாடல்கள் கற்பிக்கப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. இவ்வளவு காலம், இப்பாடல்களில் கெடுதல் ஒன்றும் காணாமல் இருந்த நம் அரசாங்கத்தார், திடீரென்று, பர்மா கவர்ன்மெண்டார் இந்த பாடல்களுக்கு ஆட்சேபிக்கிறார்களென்ற காரணத்தால் மாத்திரம், பாடல்களை பறிமுதல் செய்ய உத்திரவிட்டது மிகவும் விந்தையாயிருக்கிறது. நமது சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டாருக்கு சுய புத்தியும் சுய மரியாதையுமில்லையாவென்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். சட்டப்படி பர்மா கவர்ன்மெண்டாருடைய உத்திரவு சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டாரைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தவில்லை. அப்படியிருக்க, சென்னையிலுள்ள மாஜிஸ்திரேட்டும், போலீஸும் பாரதியாரின் பாடல்களைப் பறிமுதல் செய்வதும், நம் தமிழ் மந்திரிகளும், நமது இந்திய சட்ட மெம்பரும், போலீஸ் மெம்பரும், அதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு இருப்பதும், இந்த சபையில், சட்ட மெம்பர் தானும் போலீஸ் மெம்பரும் ஒன்றும் செய்யவில்லையென்று முதலில் சொல்லுவதும், பிறகு, தன் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் செய்த செய்கைகளுக்கு தான் ஜவாப்தாரிதானென்று சொல்லுவதும், இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் ஊழல்களைக் காட்டுகிறது. கனம் போலீஸ் மெம்பரும் கனம் சட்ட மெம்பரும் சென்னை போலீஸ் கம்மிஷனருடைய அடிமைகளாவென்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். இந்த முக்கியமான விஷயத்தில், கனம் சட்ட மெம்பர், இந்தியன் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளும் இவர், பேசியமாதிரி இவ்விடத்திலுள்ள இந்திய அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கே அவமானத்தைத் தரக்கூடியதாயிருக்கிறது.

"அக்கிராசனாதிபதி அவர்களே! கவர்ன்மெண்டாரின் செய்கை தமிழர்களையும் அவர்களின் பாஷையையும் பற்றியது. பிராமணரல்லாதவர் சட்ட மெம்பராய் நியமிக்கப்பட்டால் எண்ணிறந்த நன்மைகள் தமிழர்களுக்கு விளையுமென்று சிலரால் சொல்லப்பட்டது. அவ்வித நன்மைகளில் இது ஒன்றாவென்று நான் கனம் சட்ட மெம்பரைக் கேட்கிறேன். நம் சுதந்திரத்தைப்பற்றியும், ஒற்றுமையைப்பற்றியும், தேசபக்

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தியைப்பற்றியும் பாடுவதில் சட்ட மெம்பருக்கு ஆட்சேபனை யிருந்தால், அவர் வெளிப்படையாய்ச் சொல்லட்டும். பாரதியாரின் சிறந்த பாட்டுகளில் ஒன்றை நான் தங்கள் அனுமதியுடன் பாடுகிறேன். இதில் அரசாங்கத்தாருக்கு எவ்வித ஆட்சேபனை யிருக்கக்கூடும் என்று இந்த சபையோரே சொல்லட்டும்.

"வீரசுதந்திரம் வேண்டி நின்றார் பின்னர்
வேறொன்று கொள்வாரோ?—என்றும்
ஆரமு துண்ணுதற் காசை கொண்டார் கள்ளில்
அறிவைச் செலுத்து வாரோ ? (வீர).

புகழுநல் லறமுமே யன்றியெல்லாம் வெறும்
பொய்யென்று கண்டாரேல்—அவர்
இகழுறு மீனத்தொண் டியற்றியும் வாழ்வதற்
கிச்சையுற் றிருப்பா ரோ ? (வீர).

பிறந்தவர் யாவரு மிறப்ப துறுதியெனும்
பெற்றியை யறிந்தாரேல்—மானம்
துறந்தற மறந்தும்பின் னுயிர்கொண்டு வாழ்வது
சுகமென்று மதிப்பாரோ ? (வீர).

மானுட ஜன்மம் பெறுவதற் கரிதெனும்
வாய்மையை யுணர்ந்தாரேல்—அவர்
ஊனுடல் தீயினு முண்மை நிலைதவற
உடன்படு மாறுளதோ ? (வீர).

விண்ணி லிரவிதனை விற்றுவிட் டெவரும் போய்
மின்மினி கொள்வாரோ ?—
கண்ணினு மினிய சுதந்திரம் போனபின்
கைகட்டிப் பிழைப்பாரோ ? (வீர).

மண்ணிலின் பங்களை விரும்பிச் சுதந்திரத்தில்
மாண்பினை யிழப்பாரோ ?
கண்ணிரண்டும் விற்றுச் சித்திரம் வாங்கினாற்
கைகொட்டிச் சிரியாரோ ? (வீர).

வந்தேமாதர மென்று வணங்கிய பின்
மாயத்தை வணங்கு வரோ ?
வந்தே மாதர மொன்றே தாரக
மென்பதை மறப்பாரோ ? (வீர).

"அக்கிராசனாதிபதியவர்களே! இவ்வித சுதந்தரப் பாட்டைப் பாடுவதில் நம் அரசாங்கத்தாருக்கு ஆட்சேபனை யுண்டானால், அவர்களின் மனப்பான்மை வெட்டவெளிச்சமாய் நமக்குத் தெரிந்துவிட்டது. ஆனால் இந்த சபையிலிருந்து நான் அரசாங்கத்தாருக்கு ஒன்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவர்கள் நம் கவிசிரேஷ்டரான சுப்பிரமண்ய பாரதியாரின் பாடல்களைப் பறிமுதல் செய்யலாம்: அந்தப் பாட்டுகளைப் பாடுகிறவர்களையெல்லாம் ஜகதி செய்யலாம். ஆனால் தமிழர்களின் தேசிய உணர்ச்சியையும், அவர்களுடைய சுதந்திர தாகத்தையும் எந்த அரசாங்கத்தாரும் அடக்கமுடியாது. இந்த விஷயத்தில் இச்சபை

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யிலுள்ள சர்வ கட்சியினரும் ஒருமைப்பட்டு பேசுவதே அதற்கு அறிகுறியாகும். அரசாங்கத்தார் என்ன செய்தபோதிலும், தமிழரும், மற்ற இந்தியரும் சுதந்திரப்போரில் மனந்தளராமல் முன்னணியில் நின்று பாரதியாரைப் பின்பற்றி யுத்தம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நான் அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த வார்த்தைகளுடன், எனது நண்பர் ஸ்ரீமான் சத்யமூர்த்தி பிரேரேபித்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். வந்தேமாதரம்!"

Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar :—"I move that the question be now put."

The motion was put and carried.

The hon. the President :—"The question is that the business of the House be now adjourned."

The motion was declared lost.

A poll was demanded which was taken with the following result :

Ayes.

1. Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi.
2. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai.
3. Mr. H. B. Ari Gowder.
4. ,, A. B. Shetty.
5. ,, J. Kuppuswami.
6. Rao Bahadur O. M. Narayanan Nambudripad.
7. Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai.
8. ,, N. Siva Raj.
9. ,, V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
10. ,, W. P. A. Soundara Pandia Nadar.
11. ,, Daniel Thomas.
12. ,, S. V. Vanavudaya Goundar.
13. Syed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur.
14. Rai Sahib M. Hampayya.
15. The Zamindar of Singampatti.
16. Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja.
17. Mr. K. Ramachandra Padayachi.
18. Khan Bahadur P. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur.
19. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti.
20. ,, S. Satyamurti.
21. ,, C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar.
22. ,, T. Adinarayana Chettiyar.
23. ,, P. Anjaneyulu.
24. ,, P. C. Venkatapathi Raju.
25. ,, J. A. Saldanha.
26. ,, Abdul Hamid Khan.
27. ,, C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar.
28. ,, G. Harisarvottama Rao.
29. ,, C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar.
30. ,, K. V. R. Swami.
31. K. P. V. S. Muhammad Meera Ravuttar Bahadur.
32. Mr. D. Narayana Raju.
33. Dr. B. S. Mallayya.
34. K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur.
35. Mr. K. R. Karant.
36. ,, C. Obi Reddi.
37. ,, A. Parasurama Rao Pantulu.
38. ,, C. Ramasomayajulu.
39. ,, Basheer Ahmad Sayeed.
40. Mr. P. Baktavatsulu Nayudu.
41. Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo.
42. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao.
43. ,, R. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
44. ,, K. Koti Reddi.
45. ,, V. Kameswara Rao Nayudu.
46. ,, L. K. Tulasiram.
47. ,, C. Marudavanam Pillai.
48. ,, K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar.
49. ,, C. Venkatarangam Nayudu.
50. ,, B. Venkataratnam.
51. ,, K. S. Sivasubrahmanya Ayyar.
52. ,, A. Ranganadha Mudaliyar.
53. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.
54. Mr. Ramanath Goenka.
55. ,, R. Nagan Gowda.
56. The Zamindar of Gollapalli.
57. Mr. C. R. Parthasarathi Ayyangar.
58. ,, T. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
59. ,, P. Siva Rao.
60. Chavadi K. Subrahmanya Pillai.
61. Mr. C. Gopala Menon.
62. ,, B. Ramachandra Reddi.
63. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliyar.
64. The Raja of Panagal.
65. Sir A. P. Patro.
66. Mr. P. T. Rajan.
67. ,, T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar.
68. Khan Bahadur S. K. Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur.
69. Muhammad Khadir Mohideen Sahib Bahadur.
70. Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar.
71. Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu.
72. Diwan Bahadur A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiyar.
73. The Zamindar of Mirzapuram.
74. Mr. A. V. Bhanoji Rao.
75. ,, K. P. Raman Menon.
76. ,, K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar.

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Noes.

1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks.
2. ,, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.
3. ,, Mr. T. E. Moir.
4. ,, Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar.
5. Rao Bahadur C. V. Anantakrishna Ayyar.
6. Mr. H. A. Watson.
7. ,, C. A. Souter.
8. ,, S. H. Slater.
9. ,, A. McG. C. Tampoe.
10. ,, C. W. E. Cotton.
11. ,, R. Foulkes.
12. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan.

Neutral.

1. The hon. Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar.
2. ,, Dr. P. Subbarayan.
3. The Maharaja of Jeypore.
4. Mr. V. Ch. John.
5. ,, M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar.
6. Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur.
7. Mr. J. Bheemayya.
8. ,, J. A. Davis.
9. Mr. Muppil Nayar of Kavalappara alias Kumaran Raman.
10. Subedar Major S. A. Nanjappah Bahadur.
11. Mr. K. Krishnan.
12. ,, M. V. Gangadhara Siva.
13. ,, S. Subramanya Moopanar.
14. ,, S. Arpudaswami Udayar.
15. ,, G. R. Premayya.

Ayes 76. Noes 12. Neutral 15.

The motion was carried.

The result of the division was received with loud and prolonged cries of 'Vande Mataram' from the Opposition benches.

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. the next day.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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Appendix I.

[Vide answer to question No. 423 asked by Mr. J. A. Saldanha at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 9th October 1928, page 140 supra.]

Statement showing specially malarial tracts in the Presidency.

(1) Vizagapatam district.

Name of range.	Number of villages infected.
Narasipatam	In the whole taluk.
Yellamanchili	About 85 villages.
Chodavaram	About 15 villages.
Anakapalle	About 12 villages.
Vizagapatam	About 7 villages.
Jame (Samalkot taluk)	Vizzinigiri.
Vizianagram	..
Chipurupalli	Whole range.
Rajam	Do.
Parvatipur	About 50 villages
Bobbili	Almost all the range.
Salur	About 16 villages.
Gajapatinagaram	Do.

(2) Tinnevelly district.

There are no pronounced malarial areas in Tinnevelly district. However, the following unions are slightly infected :—

(1) Kayalpatnam. | (2) Kulasekarapatnam.

Free distribution of quinine is recommended.

(3) Madura district.

Name of taluk.	Village.
1. Kodaikanal	Tandikudi. Pulathur.
2. Periyakulam	Cumbum valley.
3. Melur	Sendurai firka.

(4) Chingleput district.

Pulicat regions are mostly affected with malaria and they constitute —(1 to 6).

1. Coromandel.
2. Kalanji.
3. Kattupalli.
4. Puludivakkam.
5. Pulicat.
6. Karungali.
7. Ennore.
8. Kathivakkam.
9. Tiruvottiyur.
10. Sathankuppam.

(5) Kistna district.

1. Kovvur taluk.
2. Kamavarapukota taluk.
3. Chintalapudi division.
4. Nuzvid division.
5. Tiruvur division.
6. Nandigama taluk, including Jaggayyapeta division.